

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03
ACDA-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06
TRSE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSC-05 IO-13 OMB-01 EB-07
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R 311535Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8072

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AUSMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 7651

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, WTO, UR, WB

SUBJECT: BREZHNEV ON NATO, BERLIN AND CHINA

REF: MOSCOW 7561

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SUMMARY: IN A DINNER TOAST MAY 30 ON THE OCCASION OF THE
VISIT TO MOSCOW OF BULGARIAN PARTY CHIEF AND CHAIRMAN
OF THE STATE COUNCIL, TODOR ZHIVKOV, BREZHNEV BRANCHED
OUT FROM SOVIET-BULGARIAN RELATIONS TO COMMENT BREIFLY
ON NATO, BERLIN AND CHINA. ON ALL THREE HE WAS LESS
CRITICAL THAN RECENT COMMENTATORS HAVE BEEN. HE ALSO

IMPLIED THAT THE RECENT WP FOREIGN MINISTERS COMMITTEE IS MORE FORMALLY ORGANIZED THAN SOME OF THE MINISTERS THEMSELVES APPEAR TO THINK, JUDGING FROM THE LATTER'S COMMUNIQUE (REFTEL). END SUMMARY.

1. BREZHNEV'S TOAST TO HIS PARTY STATE VISITOR, TODOR ZHIVKOV, MAY 30 WAS DIRECTED CHIEFLY TO THE FINE STATE OF SOVIET-BULGARIAN RELATIONS. HE DID, HOWEVER, MAKE A SHORT SALLY INTO THE BROADER INTERNATIONAL ARENA AND COMMENTED ON NATO, BERLIN AND CHINA.

2. NATO: BREZHNEV CRITICIZED "THE LEADERS OF SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES" --THOSE AT THE LONDON NATO COUNCIL IN PARTICULAR -- WHO ARE NOT AS PREPARED TO STRENGTHEN DETENTE AS THEY ARE TO "INCREASE" NATO MILITARY EXPENDITURES, BUILD UP "THE BLOC'S OFFENSIVE POTENTIAL", AND "PLAN THE ARMS RACE FOR YEARS AHEAD." TO JUSTIFY THIS, BREZHNEV CLAIMED, THESE UNNAMED LEADERS ARE FALSELY EVALUATING WP POLICIES.

3. BERLIN: BREZHNEV'S CRITICISM ON BERLIN WAS RESERVED FOR "FORCES IN THE FRG" WHICH TRY TO HEAT UP THE SITUATION IN BERLIN BY TRYING FOR "DE FACTO CORRECTION OF THE (QUADRIPARTITE) AGREEMENT." HE MAKES NO REFERENCE TO THE THREE WESTERN POWERS OR ANY RECENT MEASURES OR PRONOUNCEMENTS BY EITHER SIDE. BUT HE DOES MAKE A GENERAL COMMENT ABOUT THE "REGRETTABLE PRESENCE" IN THE POLICIES OF THE WESTERN POWERS OF "NOTIONS INHERITED FROM THE COLD
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WAR PERIOD" WHICH HINDER DETENTE.

4. CHINA: ON CHINA, HE VOICES SHARP CRITICISM OF THOSE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL "FORCES" WHO SEEK TO POLARIZE SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS. HE LINKS THEM TO THE OPPONENTS OF DETENTE AND PLEDGES TO CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THEIR "DANGEROUS, ADVENTURISTIC CALCULATIONS." HOWEVER, BREZHNEV PRECEDES THIS NEGATIVE DESCRIPTION WITH A REAFFIRMATION OF MOSCOW'S WILLINGNESS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS AND A PLEDGE NOT TO INTERFERE IN CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THIS BALANCED APPROACH CONTRASTS WITH THE SHARPLY NEGATIVE TONE OF THE RECENT SOVIET PROTEST NOTE TO THE PRC AND OF THE "ALEKSANDROV" ARTICLE OF MAY 14.

5. WP FOREIGN MINISTERS: BREZHNEV CALLED THE RECENT MEETING OF THE MINISTERS "THE COMMITTEE'S FIRST" AND REFERRED TO IT AS HAVING JUST "STARTED OPERATIONS." THIS SUGGESTS A FORMALITY AND ORGANIZATION

WHICH IS NOTABLY MISSING FROM THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE
WP MINISTERS WHO FINISHED THEIR MEETING MAY 26 IN
MOSCOW. COMING THIS SOON AFTER THE MEETING, THE
BREZHNEV FORMULATION SUGGESTS A POSSIBLE DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN MOSCOW'S CONCEPT OF THE FONMIN COMMITTEE
AND THOSE OF AT LEAST SOME OF ITS ALLIES AND IMPLIES THAT
THE LATTER WERE SUCCESSFUL IN KEEPING THE SOVIET
FORMULA OUT OF THE COMMUNIQUE.

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6. COMMENT: BREZHNEV'S COMMENTS ON THE FIRST THREE
TOPICS, WHILE CRITICAL, STRIKE US AS BEING LESS

HARSH THAN THE USUAL COMMENTS WHICH THE SOVIET PRESS
HAS BEEN DEALING OUT RECENTLY ON THESE ISSUES. THIS
IS PARTICULARLY TRUE IN THE CASE OF HIS COMMENT ON
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CHINA. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, CAUTION AGAINST PLACING
TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON THESE RATHER BRIEF REMARKS
(TO WHICH BREZHNEV ADDED THE POSTSCRIPT THAT HE DID
"NOT INTEND TO DISCUSS ALL ASPECTS OF OUR FOREIGN
POLITICAL ACTIVITY. WE HAVE DISCUSSED IT THOROUGHLY
IN RECENT TIMES."), SINCE THEY ARE OBVIOUSLY SIDE
COMMENTS WHICH DO NOT PRETEND TO BE INCLUSIVE OR
DEFINITIVE POLICY STATEMENTS. WHAT THEY DO REVEAL
IS A BREZHNEV WHO, WHILE CRITICAL, APPEARS LESS
STRIDENT AND MORE STATESMAN-LIKE THAN IS PROPAGAN-
DISTS.
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